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632 most extinct, with only about twenty members.
614 The kapitan is elected by the orang besar of the eighteen kampongs in the kapitanschap.
634 The Radja of Ende is also elected, in this case by the orang besar of the whole state. This means that he is elected evidently by the kapitan. I must inquire further about this matter.
632 The present kapitan is a nephew of the former
578 kapitan. He was chosen because the son of the former kapitan was not satisfactory. I noted that as I asked about this there seemed to be some embarrassment and I wonder if perhaps there was not a little fuss attached to the selection of a new kapitan even in the past. This seems to bear out the evidence for a feud pattern of which I see so much at first glance in Flores. Anyway, both the radja and the kapitan are elected with a tendency to heredity in the male line. They are elected by the officers of the sections of their domain. It is similar to the electors of Goa.
583 They say that the bride price is necessary
614 for marriage, and that the price is really high.
476 They say that some people go bankrupt in order to pay the bride price. Nevertheless, everyone
237 in the suku helps the man pay his bride price and in turn all helpers are later helped. This bride price is a clan affair. Formerly the price had to
[436] be paid in elephant tusks and in gold pieces called wea. Now most of the tusks are gone be-
[727] cause they have been sold or stolen (during the Japanese time). There are still quite a few of the gold pieces left, however. There were hundreds of thousands of tusks in Flores before. Sikka used only very long ones, but in this area they evidently used both long and short tusks. They are remarkable and I must learn more about them.
614 Marriage is exogamous as far as suku are con-
582 cerned and residence is patrilocal. They did
[591]

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578 nature of these people. He said there are many
632 boundary disputes and have been many in the past.
144 Now I see the truth of the racial mixture zone here. All types are represented.

614 I get the impression that the suku were originally localized largely if not entirely. This is still so. Thus one part will be all or nearly all Odja, another similarly Wanda, another Tibo, etc.

●591 I met a lad in Roworeke proper who is from a kampong which is rather far off. They said he had married a woman of Roworeke, and I thought perhaps this might be a case of ambil anak. This is not the case, however, and he had merely come there for a day, because his wife has land here. They live in his kampong. Residence is
178 patrilocal usually. Kattenburg remarked that in
578 material culture and in level of living the young
561 people are not much different from the old. They do wear different clothes, however, and as he says, in general outlook, religion, knowledge of and adherence to old thoughts and ways and religion, they differ. There must be an intergenerational conflict here, especially as they are so disputatious anyway. I must check on this.

349 The next day we[1] set out early and got them to
217 let us work in the office. This is an amazing
124 place, with cocoanut stalk walls and a dirt floor. In one room (they are all empty of furniture), scattered on the floor, are the "files" of the kapitanschap. Some of them are in paper boxes and others are just on the dirt. They call the kapitanschap the "gemeente." We sat on the front "porch" on chairs that almost collapsed and at a table that leaned loosely at an alarming angle and slowly leaned more and more until it seemed impossible that it would keep from collapsing.
124 With us was the giri tumba of Rewarangga and later the kepala kampong (ata nggaeh nua) of Woro-

[1] [Lic., Kennedy & Kattenburg--Analyst]

621 R 11. Ae Mura (kilometer 8)
361 12. Paudari (inside from Nuamere too)

237 727 There are no more tusks in Roworeke. All of them were sold or taken during the Japanese 436 time. The old wea were sold in the Japanese 563 time too, but new ones are being made by 326 traveling goldsmiths from Savu and Roti, from metal supplied by the kampong folk. We picked up two Roti goldsmiths with their tools and families. They had been in the mountains making wea and ornaments for the Lio folk. They use the natives' gold. Much silver is now mixed in with the gold. They both had complete [142] sets of gold teeth. They were handsome, large, and light.

583 Today, if there are no tusks or wea, they 611 use money and animals for the bride price, but ● 591 they may also work it off, although it is not 237 really a case of ambil anak because the children follow the father's suku anyway. The girl must stay with the parents until the bride price is paid. Also, residence remains matrilocal until the bride price is paid. Thus we have an illustration of this in the case of a Lio man now living in Roworeke, with several children, because the bride price has not yet been paid. The children belong to his suku, however. Thus there is bride service, matrilocal residence, but the descent remains patrilineal. The guru, who is living matrilocally, has not yet paid his bride price. He tried to get the assistant to say that they still had tusks, but the kepala kampong told the truth.

693 Nearly all adat cases are handled by the 624 kampong Little Fours, but big cases come before 632 the Big Four. The latter type cases are evidently rare. Minor ones may be handled by the local giri tumba, acting alone. The adat cases [691] are concerned only with land and marriage questions.

We

614 happened is that as the va'u became larger and
582 spread out, even over the whole gelarang,
178 exogamy became more difficult, and also the relationships linking the individuals in this area became more and more distant. Thus they gradually began to disregard clan exogamy. Indeed, since the whole gelarang Weol is nearly all one clan, I can see the point.

582 One must marry a mother's brother's daughter
797 (see later). But it is taboo to marry a father's
177 sister's daughter or parallel cousins. The as-
[124] sistant uses standard anthropological symbols, showing the effect of having worked with van Bekkum.[1] The priests try to discourage mother's brother's daughter marriages, but they always give dispensation. Thus they are less harsh in this matter than they are in Larantuka. I get the idea that the priests here are less firm regarding the old adat in general than in Larantuka. This is probably because it is a relatively new field, and the Catholics go slowly and gradually in destroying what is old. The dodge they use here is special dispensation. This is weird stuff in regard to acculturation.

583 The bride price is paid in buffaloes and
231 horses only, except for money. The return gift,
301 which is not nearly so large as the bride price, is in ornaments, and is given by the girl's
842 family to the boy's. The people want children
611 of both sexes, as they want the price for the
583 girls, and the boys to carry on the line. If
591 the family consists of girls only, the people
614 say that the parents have no children. There is no real ambil anak here. A man lives with his wife's family until the bride price is paid. This may take ten years or he may never pay the bride price, but the children belong to his va'u. Thus there is matrilocal residence although descent is patrilineal.

872 A school was started in Tjantjar only two and
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[1] [Pastor at Rutenga; see also bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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614 assumed taboo.
784 (3) Personal totem taboos. These apply to
262 individuals only, not to a wife or husband or
753 child or anyone else. This is a kind of "allergy." These are pire se'imu (the latter term means "individual"). Thus the kapitan's wife got sores and decided (dukun consulted?) that it was because she had eaten buffalo meat. Now she eats none. If she wishes to lift her taboo, she must give a feast with animal sacrifice. The kapitan and his child may eat buffalo.

614 The kapitan's wife thus has the taboos of
784 the kapitan's suku and her own personal one
583 too. She was also of Odja, but until she mar-
562 ried did not have the Odja taboos. Migo's wife has Odja suku taboos (she was from the suku Wanda) and also Migo's household taboo. The kapitan has no taboos, but Migo has his household taboo. It is notable that if a man
● [591] pays no bride price and lives matrilocally, his wife does not take on his suku's taboos, but assumes the taboos of the women who marry into her own sib. That is, she is a married woman, and thus must follow suku taboos. But since the bride price has not yet been paid she is not a member of her husband's suku, and so she merely takes on her own suku's taboos as though she were a woman married into her own suku. When the bride price is finally paid, she takes on her husband's suku's taboos, and of course they move into his house. Thus one can say that the totem of the suku hits women only, but only women married into the suku, not women of the suku. Lineage taboos are coming in all the time, and they apply to all household members and may pass on down from generation to generation. Personal taboos are for individuals only. This is queer, and I am sure that I have not yet got the whole story.

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	Male	Female	
Watuwiti	127	124	
Mudakaputu	128	123	
Laneda	143	167	
Riang Kanale	107	114	
Lewohala	286	285	
Riang Kamiä	430	427	
Wailolong	290	288	
Leloba	272	298	
Totals	1783	1823	3606

The Christians then totaled 1973.

Ili Mandiri is at an elevation of 1501 meters, the highest around here.

Wailolong intermarries with all of the other seven kampongs, a bit more with those which are near than with those which are farther away. During the period after the Dutch entered (1912) there were practically no marriages with Leloba, because Wailolong was sore that Roy's father would not fight the Dutch. (The present enmity of Roy against the Dutch may be delayed reaction to this.) Since then, there has been more intermarriage, but extra-kampong marriage is relatively rare. Roy estimates that not more than ten per cent of the cases are extra-kampong marriages. This holds for both sexes.

If a man lives matrilocally (which is optional if no bride price is paid, or if the bride price is paid only in part), he keeps the privileges he has in his own kampong, but he works for his food with his father-in-law in the latter's kampong.

If the bride price is not paid, he may live in either kampong, and this is merely something which has to be agreed upon. Roy says that about half of such marriages follow patrilocal residence and about half matrilocal residence.

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611 However, all children are descended patrilineally.
583 That is, there is no ambil anak here. In any
614 case, the bride price must be paid eventually.
591 It may even take two generations to do this,
but the debt is remembered and the books must finally be balanced. This eventuates as follows: If a man can't pay with tusks, he pays with a daughter. It may be any daughter, the first, second, or later daughter. If the man has no daughters, the debt remains and must be paid someday. But, she does not become a member of her mother's sib. She remains a member of her father's sib and marries as though she were a full member of it. That is, all that happens is that when she marries, her price goes to her mother's sib. This is a very peculiar arrangement, and it is purely for monetary reasons. The sons are called anak suku. The daughters are called anak gading ("elephant-tusk children"). Thus the price of a woman is either tusks or a daughter. The daughter who is given for the price may live matrilocally or patrilocally, depending on where her parents live.

582 There are some marriages between Wailolong
621 and other districts. Roy can think of cases
614 with Lewotala, Wolo, and Lewinga, and he thinks there are others. I asked him how they figure the marriage rules in such cases. He said that if there were already suku there which corresponded to those in the kampong, the situation was easily resolved. If previous marriage relations existed between the two areas, it is also a simple matter to figure out the marriage relations. If no previous marriage relations exist, it is easy to figure out anyway, as none of the rules applies. Thus Roy's brother married a girl from Roti whom he met on his travels. This was no problem, as she was far outside the
582 pattern area. What usually happens, however, is
584 that a boy, for example, sees a girl at the

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585 boy takes the remains of this pig to his family
583 and comes back with a goat for the girl's family. Then comes up the fourth night and again the pig is killed and the next morning the boy's party comes with the fourth goat and all of the bride price stuff. Thus, in all, the boy's family has given four goats and the girl's family four pigs.

On this fourth day, the bride price is paid, and also the boy's family must bring a buffalo, which is killed. At this time both families, guests, and all notables of the kampong come to the feast and eat the buffalo. The girl's family provides all the food and drink except for the buffalo. The day of this feast, the girl's family calls all the people to come by beating gongs and drums. If they haven't any, they borrow them. For perhaps a week the pair
● [591] sleep in the girl's house. This is until their household outfit (the dowry) is all ready, and then they go to the boy's house, where they will live. They bring also the return gift as well as the outfit, and indeed, the two seem to be parts of the same thing, the tau laguana, or return gift.

585 This rite is still observed by the pagans,
583 but the Catholics do it differently now. First
178 they pay the bride price. Then the priest announces banns for three Sundays. The date is set, and the day before, the two families each have a separate feast for their own guests at their own houses. The boy stays at his and the girl at hers. The two parties do not mix. The next day they all go to church for the wedding, and then, in procession, with music and dancing, they all go to the girl's house. There they have a big feast, provided by the girl's family. They dance, sing, eat, sing pantun, drink and have a good time. For perhaps a week the pair stay at the girl's house. This

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423 by the radja tuan), suku, ama, and family. Houses are categorized in the same fashion.

Houses, however, are strictly speaking owned by the family or lineage. The eldest [428] son inherits the house, and other sons build their own houses or may live in with the eld- ●[591] est son and his family. The women have no houses, as residence is patrilocal except in unusual cases.

462 The only specialization here is by sex.

426 He says there is no lending of money. They may borrow food, and the interest on such accrued during the following year is from fifty to one hundred per cent.

465 The only wage earners are the gurus. There are no other paid jobs. (How about the three kepala kampongs? I suppose they get eight per cent of the taxes as usual?) There is not one commercial enterprise here.

622 The chiefs, says Roy, are regarded as fathers. 789 The genealogical organization is strong here. Indeed, their posts depend on hereditary descent entirely. The people here obey them because they are in the place of their fathers. The curse of a father is a terrible thing, and this goes for the chiefs too. It should be remembered also that the chiefs have magic power, derived from the sanction of the ancestors and visibly shown by the stone fetishes in front of the chiefly houses.

567 The nipatale intermarry with other people, although they originally were slaves. Thus there is a slave class, but it is integrated with the others, and it has only a few marks.

[555] The only ones who have risen are the gurus. 554 And those in Wailolong are from some other area. There are no visible signs of status except that of living in a chiefly house, belonging to a "big house" suku, and having the stones of status in front of the house. I note also that

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565 men. He will fill these in. So far as I can see, all the "locals" of Weol are noted as "bangsawan." I must discuss this. The same thing happened in Roworeke. Evidently there is no real nobility in these places, only the eldest-son lineage,[1] which takes the high office. Maybe Linton is right in his hunch regarding the basis of Malayo-Polynesian social organization, that is, primogeniture. This checks with all the talk about the kuasa tinggi [high power] of the older branch, the kaka and adi stuff, etc. As for totems, the key for Weol (he uses the local totem names) is:

[114]

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rutung	porcupine
kenti	a leafy vegetable
kula	a kind of big mouse
atju	dog
lusa	red bean
giro	a kind of firewood (no burning totem).

All of these are merely the main totems, but there are others. Thus Weol clan has the lusa, but also the thin bamboo taboo.

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4. I must ask whether the men who have come to live matrilocally did so because they didn't pay the bride price. He says that this is mostly the case, but not always. He says that he will have to ask this carefully, as he can't ask men directly because they are ashamed if they have not paid the bride price. He must ask others, "Why does so and so live here with his wife?" Then the dirt will come out. These men are Nos. 40, 110, 116, 122, 123, 127, and 132. All of this led to a discussion of the situation.

217 The pagans do not have any registry of marriages. The Catholics do not have to register marriages with the government (thus no marriage

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We
582 has several wives. (This shows the recency of
578 conversion here. Here is this smooth and smart
835 lad, almost sophisticated, one who could get along almost anywhere in the world, whose father is a completely benighted heathen. He says that the family will be torn apart if one of the sons
835 does not marry the mother's brother's daughter.)

582 Then I asked what happens to the Catholics.
797 He said that usually they are given isin (dis-
[189] pensation), but the priests do not like it at all. However, he saw the point when I said that after all it was only one brother in a family who had to get the dispensation, and so maybe the church would not be too worried.

This led me to a speech, and I think the point was not bad, and perhaps the priests
[182] think of it. If they destroy the mother's brother's daughter marriage, the whole social organization falls apart, as this is the keystone all over Flores (and all through this part of Indonesia, I think). If they do this, perhaps the adat will fall apart and cause a breakdown of all the good rules, from the Catholic viewpoint. However, perhaps the reason is more realistic, i.e., it is hard to get converts if they make it too hard on the old adat.

Anyway, they can use the three generation up and three generation down dodge to get a classificatory mother's brother's daughter and keep up the old system.

583 Then we got onto the records again and ran
● 591 into some trouble. But before that I note that No. 167 is a girl who lives with her father's sister. She may well be already spoken for and even paid for, for the son of the latter. There is a son of nearly the same age there.

There are several families in the kampongs of outside origin in the case of both spouses (46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65). There are several men in Ndung

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583 591 who may not have paid the bride price, and that is why they are living matrilocally (260, 285, 291, 296, 304, 347, and 352).

567 124 Then came the trouble. I saw that there were no slaves on the list, yet Coolhaas[1] said there are many slaves here, especially in Rahong, this dalu. He said that this may be true, but that the people just will not tell him who might be descended from slaves. This is the trouble I get into by using a lad who is not from the kampong himself. But this brought up something else. He is very afraid of everything. Yesterday he wouldn't start work until he had permission from van Bekkum[2] in writing. Also, he worries today lest the inspector find anything wrong with his school work. And he is very much afraid of my asking embarrassing questions. I tried to get him to guess how many slaves there were in the kampong, but he would not. He wouldn't even say how many he thought there are in his own kampong. Maybe this is one of the sorest points here. Maybe it is because they themselves were so often enslaved by the kraeng and others and had to pay taxes in slaves to Bima. I tried to shame him into trying harder to give me some information on this by saying that I thought I would have to write that maybe Manggarai had few or no slaves because they were slaves themselves. This shook him, and he even admitted it in a way.

567 As far as I could get it, the system is something like this. In the kampongs Veol and Ndung there probably never were very many slaves, because these people were pretty poor before, and indeed they had to pay quite a bit in tribute to the alien rulers. It was even hard for them to keep slaves, perhaps, because they had to pay a tax in slaves (but this may not have been very much). Anyway, Cornelius[3] says there were plenty of slaves in some other places, and he

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst] [2] [i.e., pastor at Ruteng -- Analyst] [3] [i.e., the assistant]

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533 797 [562] school is overcrowded, and it is the only place where girls can rise above the lowest level in Manggarai. There were plenty of sisters around. The whole thing shows the good organization of the Catholics here.

[124] I used the last two days of work here to get through the rest of the schedule.

585 For weddings, the Christians go to church for a service as well as going through the old rites.

583 Formerly the bride price was not payable in money, but today it is, in part. The bride price (padja) includes buffaloes, horses, and formerly copper or brass (?) boxes. There are no more of these last objects, and money has been substituted for them. Also, cattle are now used, but were not included formerly.

The return gift (vida) includes cloth, bracelets, ear ornaments, etc. Also included are small elephant teeth (used as pendants on bracelets). They are about two inches long. The bride price goes to the girl's family, and the return gift to the boy's family. Formerly the bride price was not very high. Today it is higher. An average bride price includes about five animals.

Both Catholics and pagans still pay the bride [591] [611] price and make the return gift. If a bride price is not paid, the couple must live matrilocally until it is paid. However, the children are always patrilineally descended.

582 614 The distances of mate selection are about the same as they were fifty years ago. There is a bit more marriage within the va'u, which was taboo before. However, the panga remain exogamous.

476 602 614 If the relatives-in-law live too far off, there is no real, actual mutual aid. If they are near, mutual aid is carried out between three groups: one's own va'u ana rona, and ana vina. The help comes especially in aiding a help-mate

[i.e., at Veol.—Analyst]

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585 all of the men in the kampong come on horses. The bride may not dismount nor touch the earth, but is lifted off on the saddle. At the threshold she steps off the saddle and crushes an egg under her foot. The groom enters too. Songs are sung and a pig is killed as she enters [783] ("to clean her feet" meaning evidently to clean the soil of her home kampong off or to remove bonds therewith). This indeed is the rite that removes her totem taboo and makes her take on her husband's totem. It is called ela penteng pitak, which indeed means to clean off the mud. Thus she leaves the old and takes on the new tjek'i. Thus she has entered her husband's va'u. Then there is a feast and they live patrilocally. [591]

583 591 585 [124] If there is no bride price paid, the boy merely goes and moves in with the girl's family. There is no ceremony, or perhaps it is a little one. This is not regarded as nice (and note he says that he is afraid they might not tell him who in Veol and Ndung did not pay the bride price, as they are sensitive about this. He will send me a letter later about this and also about the percentage of mother's brother's daughter marriages). Only the poor people marry in this fashion.

When the bride price is finally paid, the real wedding ritual occurs as above. It may be ten years later. I made sure of this by laughingly saying that perhaps in such a case when they have the procession from the girl's to the boy's house their children go along too. And they said that that was correct. If the couple are Christian, they have a church wedding one day before the numpang. All the rest of the rite is the same.

864 There is no need for sex instruction, as the children see everything when they are still very young in these crowded houses. They are

War

Clans

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Veol	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol Clan	17	7	70	94
Other Clans	6	28	12	46
Total	23	35	82	140

Ndung	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol Clan	18	17	57	92
Other Clans	21	39	54	114
Total	39	56	111	206

Total				
Veol Clan	35	24	127	186
Other Clans	27	67	66	160
Total	62	91	193	346

[591] I can see that Veol keeps to the patrilocal rule, and that there is a great preponderance of the Veol clan. This is more evident in Veol than in Ndung, where there are lots of matrilocal couples, and also many outsiders. In regard to the marriage pairs, this can be seen below:

Marriage Pairs (including Widows)

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	Veol	Ndung	Total
Man (Veol)--Woman (Other)	23	22	45
Woman (Veol)--Man (Other)	4	10	14
Other--Other	4	15	19
Man (Veol)--Woman (Veol) (different panga)	3	6	9

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There is no use working out every marriage pair, because I can see that there is no system of marriage classes here. I note quite a few clearly mother's brother's daughter (tungku)

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582 [124] marriages, and the assistant will send a letter to me about this later.

●[591] He will also send me a letter about how many of the matrilocal residence cases are because of a failure to pay the bride price.

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Clan Membership or Derivation: Veol

	Men	Women	Children	Total
Veol	17	7	70	94
Paka	3	0	6	9
Leda	1	2	2	5
Leko	1	1	2	4
Poka	0	3	0	3
Papang	1	0	2	3
Kepe		2		2
Laru		1		1
Kole		1		1
Ling		1		1
Taga		2		2
Dalo		2		2
Nulang		1		1
Ndadjung		1		1
Tuke		1		1
Watang		1		1
P. Leok		2		2
Ndehes		2		2
Kuleng		1		1
Tjumbi		1		1
Adjang		1		1
Tjarep		1		1
Nanu		1		1
Total	23	35	82	140